SAM. Ld. Bp. of OXON

His Celebrated REASONS

FOR

ABROGATINO

THE

TEST,

And NOTIONS of

IDOLATRY ANSWERED

BY

SAMUEL, Arch-Deacon of Canterbury.

It's better to Indulge Mens Vices and Debaucheries, than their Consciences. Sam. Park. Eccles. Pol. Pag. 54.

LONDON, Printed in the Year 1600

O THE LETTER OF RAHY OF PHINUE TO THE Carlebourge Control of the Pur Coll -

Here is nothing hereby intended to impugn the Abrogation of the TEST: May His Majesty's Sacred Will and Pleasure be fulfill'd; and may the Rights of the Englhsh Peerage remain Inviolable. But there seems to have been an absolute Necessity, for the Author of the Reasons for Abrogating the TEST, to have Repeal'd his most bit-ter Invectives against the Nonconformists, and his tempestuous Indignation against Dissenters in general; so diametrically opposite to the Serene and Pious Desires and Resolutions of His Majesty, to make His Subjects happy, and unite them to Him as well by Inclination, as Duty; and to have shew'd his Compliance to His Majesty in all His most Laudable and Generous Designs, before he had singl'd out that particular Point of the TEST, meerly to hook in a Plea for Transubstantiation, and his own New modell'd Notions of Idolatry. But let Others, whom it may concern, difpute'

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pute those Controversies: The present Question is, Whether his Lordship of Oxon, have Retracted his Discourses of Ecclesiastical Polity, or at least, those Passages in them, which run so apparently counter to His Majesty's Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conscience? Otherwise he may seem to have calculated his Writings for the various Meridians of State; and his Arguments will not bear that Weight, which (tho the same, yet) coming from Another Person, they would have done.

Touch-stone of Truth of the Bishop's, or Arch-Deacon's (which you please, for they are both the same Person's) Ecclesiastical Polity, than the Declaration it self: Only, out of his Christian Charity, the Arch-Deacon has Peopled the Kingdom with such a dreadful Canaille, (all but those of the Church of England) that Astonishment it self might wonder well, were his unconscionable Epithetes to be allow'd, that so Gracious, so Indulgent, so Soft and Calm a Declaration, should come forth in Kindness to such a Rabble: For Those whom His Majesty

jesty calls His Good Subjects, the Arch-Deacon continually stigmatizes with the foul Epithetes of Jugglers, Dissemblers, Wicked, Rebellious, Hypocrites, Sons of Strife and Sin-pag. 241, 242, gularity, and most notorious Hereticks. 273,319,187.

And, upon this Supposition, as the Foundation of his Pile, that the Generality of the People of England are such, (for he excepts none but Those of the Church of England) he rears the Fabrick of his Ecclestastical Polity; wherein he had only this Missortune, to be of a quite contrary Opinion to His Prince; and that his Draconicks were not Repeal'd, before the Declaration came forth.

The Declaration expresses His Majesty's Earnest Desire to Fstablish His Government on such a Foundation, as to make His Subjects happy, and unite
Them to Him as well by Inclination, as Duty; which
He thinks can be done by no means so effectual, as by
granting Them the Free Exercise of their Religion.

But the Arch-Deacon's Politicks are of another Strain: For, in his Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity, p. 12. he says; That the Aim of his Discourse is, by representing the palpable Inconsistency of Phanatick Tempers and Principles, with the Wel-

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fare and Security of Government, to awaken Authority to beware of its worst, and most dangerous Enemies, and force them to Modesty and Obedience by Severity of Laws.

Pag. 52. of the same Preface: If Princes (says he) would but consider, how liable Mankind are to abuse themselves with serious and conscientious Villanies, they would quickly see it to be absolutely necessary to the Peace and Happiness of their Kingdoms, that there be set up a more severe Government over Men's Consciences, than over their Vices and Immoralities.

Pag. 54. of the same, He boasts his having prov'd, That Indulgence and Toleration is the most Absolute sort of Anarchy; and that Princes may with less Hazard give Liberty to Men's Vices and Debaucheries, than to their Consciences.

But the Declaration is quite of another Temper: We bumbly thank Almighty God, it is, and bath of a long Time been, Our constant Sense and Opinion, which upon divers Occasions We have declared, That Conscience ought not to be constrain'd, nor People forc'd in Matters of meer Religion.

But this will not be admitted by the Arch-Deacon: For, (says he, Ecclesiast. Pol. pag. 321.)

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When Men's Consciences are so squeamish, that they will rise against the Customs and Injunctions of the Church, She must scourge them into Order, and chastize them for their troublesome Peevishness.

Pag. 324. (Eccles. Polit.) He pretends to have prov'd the Unavoidable danger of Toleration, and keeping Religious Differences; That Religion must be govern'd by the same Rules, as all other Transactions of Human Life; and, That nothing can do it, but severe Laws; nor they neither, unless severely Executed.

Ecclesiast. Pol. pag. 311. If Princes (says he) will suffer themselves to be checked in their Laws Spiritual by every Systematical Theologue, they may as well bear to see Themselves affronted in their Laws

Civil by every Village-Attorney.

Pag. 284. But to Indulge Ideots in their Folly, because they threaten Authority to be Peevish and Scrupulous, and to Infest the Government with a sullen, and cross-grain'd Godliness, (an Artifice not much unlike the Tricks of froward Children) is, to suffer Ignorance to ride in Triumph; and therefore such Humorsom Saints must be lash'd out of their Sullenness, into Compliance, and better Manners. This (as the Arch-Deacon calls it, Preface to Brambal's

Brambal's Vindication) was one his Rhapsodies of hasty and buddled Thoughts. Most Divine Words, and most Seraphick Charity! But the Arch-Deacon will have Tenderness of Conscience to be Pride, Vanity, and Insolence, though all the Seven Champions should Contradict him.

Pag. 273. He that pretends Conscience to vouch bis Humor, and bis Insolence, is a Villain, and an Hypocrite; and so far from deserving Pity, especially from Authority, that no Offenders can more need or provoke their Severity. This may be True:

But, where the Supream Government, which must of necessity be Absolute; Uncontroulable, and Unlimited, as

well in matters of Religion, &c. more Sagaciously discerns beyond the Arch-Deacon's Politicks, that same Conscience to be neither Humor nor Insolence, nor will comprehend it, under that Notion; there, it is to be hop'd, the Man is not a Villain, nor an Hypocrite, and so not liable to the Fury of the Arch-Deacon's Correction.

Pag. 271. And therefore, if Princes will be Resolute, they may easily make the most Stubborn Consciences bend to their Commands; But, if they will not, they must submit Themselves, and their Power, to

all the Follies and Passions of their Subjects. Probatum est. S. P.

Pag. 270. Governours must look to the Publick, and let Tender Consciences look to Themselves. Laws must be of an unyielding, and unstexible Temper, and not soft and easie Things. Princes must not be dissident in their Maxims of Policy; but, as they must set up some to Themselves; so they must Act roundly up to them. Dii te donent Tonsore. — Quare, Why this Counsel was not taken, since the Counsel was given so long before the Declaration came forth? Ausw. Because it was ever contrary to Declar. His Majesty's Inclination.

Pag. 269. 'Tis all one to the Concernments of Government, whether Tenderness of Conscience be Serious or Counterfeit: For whether so or so, 'tis directly contrary to the Ends and Interests of Government. Bet-

ter unsaid, than not Believed.

Pag. 263. And what can be more destructive to all manner of Government, than to make all the Rules of Order and Discipline less Sacred, than the Whimsies of every Phanatick Zealot? Pray be patient, Sir, there's no such thing done.

Ibid. When to pick Quarrels with the Laws, and make Scruple of Obeying them, shall be made the Speci-

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fick Character of the Godly: When giddy and humorous Zeal shall not only excuse, but hallow Disobedience; when every one that has Fancy enough to fancy himself a Child of God, Shall have License to despise Authority. Who would have been at the trouble of all this Rhetorick, had he known what would have followed?

Pag. 253. In brief, The only Cause of all our Troubles and Disturbances, is, the Inflexible Perverseness of about an hundred Proud, Ignorant, and Seditious Preachers; against whom, if the Severity of the Laws were particularly levell'd, how easie would it be to reduce the People to a Peaceable Temper? There were Three more than his Number, and that spoil'd the Project.

Pag. 187. What can be more apparently vain, than to talk of Accommodations, or to hope for any Possibility of Quiet or Settlement, till Authority Shall see it necessary to scourge them into better Man-

ners, and wifer Opinions?

Pag. 219. 'Tis easily possible for well-meaning People, through Ignorance or Inadvertency, to be betray'd into such unhappy Errors, as may tend to the Publick Disturbance; which, though it be not So much their Crime, as Infelicity; yet is there no

Remedy,

Remedy, but it must expose them to the Correction of the Publick Rods and Axes. Surely, Rhada-manthus's own Chaplain could not have preach-

ed more severe Divinity?

Pag. 271. In brief, There is nothing so ungovernable, as a Tender Conscience; or so restiff and instexible, as Folly or Wickedness, when hardned with Religion: And therefore, instead of being Comply'd with, they must be Restrain'd with a more peremptory and unyielding Rigor, than naked and unsantify'd Villany.

Pag. 223. Nay, so easie it is for Men to deserve to be Punish'd for their Consciences, that there is no Nation in the World, (were Government rightly understood, and duly manag'd) wherein Mitakes and Abuses in Religion, would not supply the Galleys with vastly greater Numbers, than Villany. 'Tis a Comfort, curst Cows have now

short Horns.

However, to this the Tender Declaration makes a Reply, declaring one of the Reasons of His Majesty's Indulgence to be, Because He finds, That Force in Matters of meer Religion, tends to the Depopulating of Countries.

On the other fide, the Arch-Deacon, in Op-

position to the KING's Reason, is for Depopulating the Land, and Peopling the Galleys; and arraigns that Government for want of Understanding, and due Management, that does not observe his Method of Cruelty. He is for Pillories, Whipping-Posts, Rods, Axes, Scourges, &c. as if no Government pleas'd him, but that described by Virgil in Hell:

This, in the Arch-Deacon's Ecclesiastical Policy; and to shew, that no other Government will content him but this, Pag. 18. I leave it, (sayes he) to Governors themselves to judge, whether it does not concern them, with as much Vigilance and Severity, either to prevent the Rise, or suppress the Growth, (of Phanaticks he means, that find themselves aggrieved by the Penal Laws) as to punish any the soulest Crimes of Immorality? And if they would but seriously consider into what Exorbitances peevish and untoward Principles about Religion

ligion improve themselves, they rould not but perceive it to be as much their Concernment to punish them with the severest Inflictions, as any whatsoever Principles and Rebellions in the State.— Well! The Business is consider'd, and his Ec-

clesiastical Polity is found to be Deficient.

Nay, he goes farther, and arraigns all Kings and Princes for their Folly, under the Title of Governors: For, fays he, in the following Pag. 19. This certainly has ever been one of the Fatal Miscarriages of all Governors, in that they have not been aware of this Fierce and Implacable Enemy, (meaning the Phanaticks, who care no more for Whips and Scourges, than the Devil does for Holy-Water) but have gone about to govern unruly Consciences by more easie and remiss Laws, than those that are only able to suppress scandalous and confess'd Villanies; and have thought them sufficiently Restrain'd, by threatning Punishments, without inflicting them: And indeed, in most Kingdoms, so little bave Princes understood their own Interests in Matters of Religion, &c. Hearken, Oye Princes of Europe, and go to School again to the Author of the Discourses of Ecclesiastical Polity!

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But, here is another bold Touch: Prohibition disobliges Dissenters, and that is one Evil; Impunity allows them Toleration, but that is a Greater; and where Governors permit what their Laws permit, (This is not the present Case) there the Commonwealth must at once feel all the Evils both of Restraint and Liberty. So that, as they would expect Peace and Settlement, they must be sure, at first, to bind on their Ecclesiastical Laws with the streightest Knot; and afterwards keep them in Force and Countenance, by the Severity of the Law. Their Restraint must be proportion'd to their Unruliness of the Conscience; and they must be manag'd with so much the greater Strictness, than all other Principles of Disturbance, by how much they are the more dangerous. Gratias Domine, now Princes understand what they have to do.

Yet a little more of the Arch-Deacon's Ecclefiastical Polity. Beloved, in his Preface to Bishop
Brambal's Vindication, (for it is not Pag'd) you
shall find it thus written: They (meaning the
Phanaticks, or Complainants against the Penal
Statutes) bave been so long accustom'd to undutiful
Demeanor, that it is to be fear'd, they are grown
too Head-strong and Incorrigible, to be aw'd into a

more modest Behaviour by Threatnings of Severity. Therefore, it will be thought necessary to bridle their ungovern'd Tongues and Spirits with Pillo-

ries and Whipping-Posts.

And at the Bottom of the same Page: To this Peevishness of their Humors, I might add the Restlesness of their Minds, that is always displeas'd with the settled Frame of Things, (innuendo, the settled Penal Laws;) and that no Alterations can satisfy. If you condescend to their First Demands, you only encourage them to be making New Remonstrances: Appease all their Old Complaints, and they are immediately picking New Faults to be Redress'd. They that at first only request Indulgence, will, when strong enough, demand it. In short, Give the Non-conformists an Inch, and they'll take an Ell.

But, (in the same Preface) should it ever so bappen hereafter, that any King of England should be prevail'd with to deliver up the Church, (That is to say, to dispence with the Penal Laws and TEST; for the TEST, notwithstanding the Reasons against it, must be included in this long Parenthesis, because the Church fram'd it) he had as good, at the same Time, resign up his Crown. And thus you see the Danger of the Present

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Government, through the Non-conformity to

the Arch-Deacon's Ecclefiastical Polity.

There is another Reason, why His Majefly was graciously pleas'd to Think, Force in Matters of meer. Religion directly contrary to the Interest of Government; and that is, Spoyling

of TRADE.

Trade! cries the Arch-Deacon: Trade! No: Let Grass grow about the Custom-House, rather than abate one Tittle of my Ecclefiastical Polity: For, (in his Preface to his Ecclesiast. Pol. Pag. 49.) 'Tis notorious, (fays he) that there is not any sort of People so inclinable to Seditious Practices, as the Trading Part of a Nation; and their Pride and Arrogance naturally increases. with the Improvement of their Stock. And if we reflect upon our late Miserable Distractions, 'tis easie to observe, bow the Quarrel was hatcht in Trade, Men's Shops, and cherist by the Zeal of Prentices: (By the way, this is plausible Nonsense all over.) But he goes on, Pag. 50. Tis a very odd, and preposterous Piece of Policy, to design the enriching this fort of People, while their Heads are distemper'd with Religious Lunacies. And, Pag. 51. He is a very filly Man, and understands nothing

nothing of the Follies, Passions, and Inclinations of Human Nature, who sees not there is no Creature so ungovernable, as a Wealthy Phanatick. And therefore, (Pag. 48.) I confess, I cannot but smile, when I observe bom some, that would be thought monderful grave and solemn Statesman, labour with mighty Projects of setting up this and that Manufa-Aure, in their several respective Towns and Corporations; and how eagerly they pursue these Petty Attempts, beyond the Great Affairs of a more Publick Concernment, (Meaning the dreadful and terrible Execution of the Penal Laws;) and how wisely they neglect the Settlement of a whole Nation, for the Benefit of a Village or Burrough? Very pleasant Ecclesiastical Polity! No Manmust eat or drink, or maintain his Family: The grand Relation of Human Necessities, depending one upon another, must stand still, to oblige the Arch-Deacon's Ecclefiastical Policy. Here's a Quietus est for above the Third Part of the Nation. None but those that can swallow a Surplice, and adore the Parochial Levite, . must weave Camlets at Normich, make Bays at Colchester, Spurrs at Rippon, Nayls at Brommigeham, or Saddles at Burford. For why? There

Part of the Nation. So that, supposing the Greater Part of the Trading Part of the Nation be, as the Arch-Deacon calls them, Phanaticks, and Nonconformists, (that is, Men Conscientiously scrupuling the Ceremonies of the Church Presace to Bram of England) they must either be hall's Vindication. Scourg'd into better Manners with Bryars and Thorns; or else the Nation must be laid waste and desolate. For, to tell you true, as good have no People, as those that will not pay Tithes; 'tis no matter for the KING's Duties, nor how the Nation may be otherwise weakn'd and expos'd.

There is yet behind one more Reason urg'd in the Declaration, and that is this; That Force in Matters of meer Religion, never obtain'd the End for which it was imploy'd; wherein His Majesty declares Himself the more Consum'd, by the Resections He had made upon the Conduct of the Four last Reigns.

Now, here's the utter Subversion of the Arch-Deacon's Ecolesiastical Policy; All meer Labour in vain; Abundance of Ranting Raving, Reviling Expressions; insomuch, that the Arch-Angel was more civil to the Devil, than the Arch-Deacon

to the Dissenters; and yet all to no purpose. He has been at a great deal of pains in setting up Pillories and Whipping-Posts in all Parts and Corners of the Kingdom; and now he may e'ne go, and pull 'emdown again. What are now become of all his Politick Let but's? In his Preface to Bishop Bramball's Vindication; Let but the Government think it seasonable at any time to Reprieve them (meaning the Dissenters) from the Severity of the Laws, and they immediately start up into that Confidence, as to imagine themselves the only Darlings of State. Let but the Publick Rods be removed from their Backs, and they are presently full of Expectations to have them put into their own bands. If they are not always Scourg'd and Chastis'd, they will grow Sawcy, and must by all means become Cronies to Kings and Princes.

Many other Passages might have been Collected out of his several Bitter (if they may not be said to be Scurrilous) Invectives against the Dissenters; but here are sufficient to make it apparently Manisest, that the Author of the Ecolesiastical Polity, was as great a Dissenter from the mild and tender Maxims of his Majesty's Government, and his constant Sense and O-

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pinion, of a long time professed and declared upon several Occasions in Matters of Religion, as the Dissenters were dissatisfied with the Rigid Severity of the Church of England; or, at least, with the Principles of his Ecclesiastical Polity.

Which makes it seem questionable, whether a Person, who has brandish'd his Pen with that Virulency, against the Dissenters in general, and His Majesty's Royal Opinion, and the Mature Results of his most serious Deliberations, may be a proper Champion against the Test? For most certainly, there has been much more said already, and much more to the purpose, than he has produced.

On the other side, he has most DogPreface to Bishop matically avouch'd. That if ever the BoiBramhall's sterous and unreasonable Opposition (as he calls it) of the Nonconformists to the Church of England, be Re-erected it must be upon its
Ruins: And that if ever the Roman Catholicks get any Ground, or Advantage of the Church of England, they will be bound to make their Aeknowledgments to the Puritans, and the Strength of their Assistance. Whence he draws his Conclusion, That it would be a pleasant Spectacle, (that is to say, A ridicu-

ridiculous over-fight in Government) to see either the Classical or Congregational Discipline esta-

blish'd by Authority.

Moreover, in the 721. Pag. of the Vindication of his Feelef. Pol. He appeals to all Men, whether Liberty of Conscience be any better, than a License for Anarchy and Confusion? Pag. 238. He says, That to grant Subjects a lawless and uncontroul'd Liberty of Conscience, in all Matters and Pretences of Religion, is to dissolve one half of the Government into perfect Anarchy, and yield up the Constitution of all Publick Affairs, to the Humor of every wild Enthusiast. And Pag. 553. you find it thus written; So that, seeing an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction (of Pillories and Whipping-Posts, Thorns and Bryars) is absolutely necessary to prevent all Confusions, arising from unrestrain'd Liberty, it is better that Mankind should be sometimes exposed to the Miseries of Tyranny and Persecution, than always Groan under the Intolerable Disorders of Anarchy, or Reluctancy to Penal Statutes.

If then the Church of England be Establish'd upon such a firm Foundation, that nothing can endanger it, but Indulgence to the Dissenters, 'tisto be admir'd, that a Man, so knowing in

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Ecclesiastical Policy, and so great a Friend to the Church of England, would open fuch a Gapp as to plead for the Abrogation of the Test, which the Church-Men of England fram'd and letup, as the only Bulwark to prevent her Dissolution. So that, to use his own Words, 'Tis very hardly Credible, That a Person, who has lately appear'd so Vigorously in her Cause, should, notwithstanding all his seeming Zeal and Earnestness, be really in good Earnest, in bis Pretences, against the Test. For, what fignifies the Abrogating the Test, if there be no way to shake the otherwise immovable Church of England, but by making two Bridges of Dissenters, one between Callice and Dover, the other between Diepe and Rye, for Popery to return into England: For, when he comes to that part of his Preface to Bishop Bramball's Vindication, where he considers what likelyhood, or how much danger there is of the Return of Popery into this Nation: For my own part, fayshe, I know none, but the Nonconformist's boisterous and unreasonable Opposition to the Church of England. If he think, that the Abrogation of the Test may be a means to unite the Papist, and the Difsenter, which he seems to intimate, by saying; That

That the Faction of the Dissenters may be made use as Instruments (Journey-men Tools) to dissolve and univel the establish d Frame of things, and destroy the Chur of England; and so make an unobstructed Passage f the Return of Popery in Glory and Triumph; the he has left his Cause in the Lurch, and relin

quish'd all his Ecclesiastical Polity at once.

As for the Papists, he deals with them after fuch a rate, that no Man living knows where to have him. In his Preface to Bishop Bramball's Vindication, he seems neither to Love nor Fear em: For that, as long as the Church of England stands in Power and Reputation, it will easily beat back. and baffle all the Attempts of Rome, and its Adherents; Their Plausible Reasons being evidently no more, than little Tricks and Sophisms, and seem intended by themselves, rather to abuse the Simple, than satisfie the Wise. Their Innovations are so undeniable, and the Design of the Church of England's Reformation, so apparently Apostolical, that those People must needs argue at a strange wild rate, that will be demonstrating against Experience, and Ocular Inspection. So then, the Reformation made by the Church of England, in the Points of Transubstantiation, Worship of Images, Adoration of the Host, and Invocation of Saints, being ApostoApostolical; What must be thought of his Reasons against the Test? Nay, there is Nothing could preserve the Papists from being hiss'd out of the Pit, but that they are extreamly Consident, and most Readers sufficiently ignorant: So that the Church of England may safely desire all their Opposition. She does not stand upon such Trembling Foundations, as to be thrust down with Bull-rush Spears, and Oral Traditions, with Labyrinths, and Castles in the Air.

But then his Heart misgives him again, and he begins to sear the Return of Popery into the Nation, should the Nonconformists joyn with the Papists: And therefore, at the End of his Preface, he begs the Hearty Prayers of his Friend, for the Peace and Prosperity of the Church of England; for when That is gone, (farewell Frost) 'twill be hard to find out Another, with which any, that are either Honest or Wise, will be over forward to joyn in Com-

munion.

Notwithstanding all this, upon better Consideration, as it were in Compassion of the despis'd Weakness of the Church of Rome, and her Adherents, he undertakes to surnish Them with better Arguments of his own, than any they have Themselves, to vindicate Transubstantiation, and clear them from Idolatry: For which he strains an Argument deduc'd from the Cherubims, that cover'd the Ark. And yet, in his Desence of his Ecclesiastical Polity, Pag. 285, 286. he condemns both Turk and Pope together in a Breath; the One for giving Divine Worship to a lewd Impostor; the Other, to a Senseless Piece of Matter. And thus, what, by Vertue of Apparent, Apostolical Resonation, he call'd (Besore) a Senseless Piece of Matter, he has (Now) cover'd with the Cherubim's Golden Wings, and render'd Adorable by Scripture-Warrant: But, Bene scribit, qui bene intelligitur; What he has Written, he has Written.